








AMERICA'S ADVANCEMENT.



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A. Lincoln.





ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Born in Kentucky, February 12, 1809. Died in Washington, April 15, 1865.

THE history of his life and administration is too well known to mankind to need recital here. The War for the preservation of the Union had closed, and the Proclamation of Peace had made it a gala day. The occasion was rendered memorable by the martyrdom of the Savior of the Union, and the Deliverer of the African race.

Since the death of the Father of the Republic, which filled the country with grief, and threw distant nations into mourning, there had been no funeral in America which bore even a faint resemblance to this in the extent and depth of the public sorrow; for Lincoln held the next place to Washington in the hearts of his countrymen. It were vain to attempt any adequate description of the tokens of respect and sorrow which were everywhere displayed. The funeral bells went tolling with the sun in his circuit, from noon-day on the Atlantic to the noon-day of the Pacific—the two ocean boundaries of a continent stricken by a common grief. Memorial meetings were held in every State and Territory; Morse's lightning had made it a funeral day in America. A hundred thousand flags drooped to his memory. He was the theme of eulogy in every university, and school of learning. His praises were uttered over countless work-benches, and among diversified scenes of honest toil. The plow halted in the furrows of a million of upturning fields. The incense of prayer for the repose of his gentle spirit, witnessed only by guardian angels, went up from myriads of closets. His pictures were wreathed in mourning in the humble cabins of the innumerable free homes of his dusky worshippers. Young mothers pressed his name on the foreheads of new-born babes. The news of his death cast a shadow over many a bridal morning, and folded the wings of love around many a scene of enchantment. The old sank tremblingly into their easy-chairs as they heaved their latest sighs to his cherished memory; and the dying, with the last praises on earth, thanked the God of Liberty that its great champion had lived. And so from the frozen gates of our Republic on the North, where the brooks had not yet begun to murmur, down to meet the blushing spring in its coming, till it reached the orange-groves of Florida, one wave of sorrow swept its gentle way; while under the ocean the sad tidings were flashed to distant nations. There was no clime where the tribute of tears was not paid to him. It was one of those few funeral days on which the obsequies of a great philanthropist were held within twenty-four hours all round the globe. He was the friend of Humanity, and Humanity wept when he was no more.

LINCOLN'S POSITION IN THE REPUBLIC.

ALTHOUGH nothing is more common in Europe than for her statesmen to discuss great public questions in books and leading journals with the utmost freedom, even while they hold office, yet it is still more common after their retirement, and while yet living, to publish memoirs of themselves, their times, and their contemporaries. In this way the highest service is often done to the public. There are no longer any such things as cabinet secrets in Europe. Ministers have long since ceased to conceal their policy, for the good reason that it cannot long be successfully done, and with the growth of the democratic spirit, popular appeals are at once made to the enlightened public sentiment of nations, on which every ruler and minister now leans for support. The day has gone by when governments or their leaders venture to defy public opinion. Everywhere the people feel themselves justified in calling their magistrates to account. It is not only so, as it has long been in the British Parliament, but in the legislative assemblies and public councils of every nation on the Continent. Before the bar of public opinion all men in power now know that they will be summoned. For a while certain negotiations with other States must be withheld from the public to guard against the miscarriage which attends indiscretion. But daylight now shines through the councils of all the nations; and ministers and statesmen who guide their affairs have learned to respect the Press too much to defy it. In fact, they are the first to resort to it, to prepare the public mind for any new measures they may resolve on, or to fight their battles while the strife is going on.

Strange as it may seem, a different policy has prevailed in the United States. Very few of our statesmen have, during their terms of office, or after their expiration, made any contributions of much value to the history of their times, resting almost their sole reliance upon the championship of their partisans, whose objects have too often been to conceal the truth, or to exaggerate it.

Since the time of John Quincy Adams, we have had no President who, either before or after his election, contributed anything of value to the political history of the country. One and all, without exception, and for the most part members of their Cabinets, lacked the capacity or the habit of enlightening the public mind through the pen, their messages for the most part being limited to the discussion of public measures from the standpoint of their party. Very few clear, able, and enlightened dissertations from them were given to the Reviews or the great Journals. This has been owing chiefly to two causes. *First*.—Lofty statesmanship had to give way to getting votes. *Second*.—The lack of literary culture. All our early Presidents, and most of their Cabinet officers, were among the ablest political writers of their time. Washington's vast correspondence with the most learned men of his times at home and abroad, largely influenced public opinion. Jefferson, John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, Oliver Ellsworth, Joel Barlow, Judge Marshall, the Clintons, and a host of other prominent men, absolutely guided the opinions of their times; they educated their contemporaries. But after the administration of the younger Adams, a general demoralization began to appear; less and less appreciation was placed on learning and literary cul-

ture; statesmen gave way to demagogues; scholars and even great jurists were no longer in request; mere politicians, partisans, and low intriguers dictated the policy and determined the spirit of administrations. There were indeed certain notable exceptions, as in the case of Clay, Calhoun, Webster, Benton, and others, who either in the Senate or in the Cabinet, put forth a loftier influence, and commanded the attention and admiration of the world whenever they wrote or spoke. They held the language of scholarly statesmanship, and where they had the appointing power in their hands, they chose strong, gifted and illuminated men to represent the nation. None of these great men debauched public sentiment; none of them "gave up to party what was meant for mankind;" for even in their fiercest political strifes, they maintained integrity, dignity, culture, and pride in the Republic. Above all, they were free from petty egotism, and low selfishness, which in later days, and more particularly in the Cabinet of Mr. Lincoln, so seriously impaired his usefulness.

We were lamenting the absence of learning and culture so conspicuous in public life during the last thirty or forty years. In this respect we compare unfavorably with many of the European States. There has not been a cabinet in England or on the Continent for fifty years which did not embrace some of the most eminent men of learning and culture, and for the most part their representatives to foreign nations have belonged to the same class. No matter what party comes into power, or what revolution may sweep by, these facts still hold true. It certainly will not be pleaded in extenuation of our besotted policy, that there is any lack of learning, talent, or culture in this country; but the standard of qualifications for high public offices has been degraded among us in our immediate times, and the whole country having felt the curse, will be likely hereafter to do something to remedy it.

A significant and encouraging example has been found in the case of a retired Secretary of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet; and too high a value can hardly be put upon Mr. Gideon Welles' papers, contributed to the *Galaxy* Magazine two and three years ago. The immediate occasion of their appearance was the Memorial Address delivered before the Legislature of New York at Albany, by Charles Francis Adams, in honor of Secretary Seward. In what Mr. Welles deemed to be a highly exaggerated estimate of Mr. Seward's services in the Lincoln Cabinet, he had a clear right to his judgment, as had Mr. Adams himself. Nor do we think that he would have forbidden the right of the orator, unless he was deemed to have departed far enough from the truth of history to provoke criticism. It was therefore most important for a public man like Mr. Welles, who had the fairest possible opportunity to know all the facts, to correct Mr. Adams' mistakes. It was very natural that the late Minister to England, whose valuable services to the country all men are ready to acknowledge, should, in his warm personal friendship for Mr. Seward, be disposed to speak in terms of the highest eulogy. But it could not be supposed that at so great a distance from Washington, he could be informed on the matters of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, as one of the most sagacious and judicious of its members, who during the whole term of the administration was steadily at his post, and one of the most trusted and pure members of the Cabinet. We give some important passages from Mr. Welles' book, as it appeared, embracing the articles that had been printed in the Magazine.

LINCOLN AND SEWARD.—Unassuming and unpretentious himself, Mr. Lincoln was the last person to wear borrowed honors. He was not afflicted with the petty jealousy of narrow minds, nor had he any apprehension that others would deprive him of just fame. He gave to Mr. Seward, as to each of his council, his generous confidence, and patiently listened, if he did not always adopt or assent, to the suggestions that were made. To those who knew Abraham Lincoln, or who were at all intimate with his Administration, the representation that he was subordinate to any member of his Cabinet, or that he was deficient in executive or administrative ability, is absurd. Made on a solemn occasion as was this Address, and published and sent out to the world in a document which purports to be not only eulogistic, but historic, it is essential that the errors thus spread abroad should be corrected. Mr. Adams had not an intimate acquaintance with Mr. Lincoln, and evidently but a slight general knowledge of his character. With admitted great disappointment and disgust, he, in May, 1861, received the intelligence that this lawyer, legislator, and political student of the prairies, whom he did not know, and with whom he had not associated, had been preferred by the Republican representatives at Chicago over a Senator from the Empire State, with whom he was intimate and familiar, who had long official experience, which he seems to have considered essential, was acquainted with legislative management, and whose political and party sympathies accorded with his own. His prejudices as well as his partiality were excited, and from the beginning he misconceived the character and undervalued and underrated the capabilities and qualities of one of the most sagacious and remarkable men of the age.

Mr. Seward was a politician—a partisan politician of the central school—with talents more versatile than profound; was more of a conservative than a reformer, with no great original conceptions of right, nor systematic ideas of administration. So far as his party adopted a reforming policy he went with it, and he was with it also in opposing actual reforms by the Democrats. The representation that he was a veteran reformer, or the leader of the anti-slavery movement or of the Republican party, is a mistake. He was neither an Abolitionist nor a Free-soiler; nor did he unite with the Republicans until the Whig party virtually ceased to exist in most of the States, and was himself one of the last to give up that party, of which he had been from its commencement and in all its phases an active member. It was with reluctance he finally yielded, when the feeble remnant of that organization disbanded. The Republican party, with which he then became associated, was not of mushroom growth. It was years maturing. Mr. Seward, whose friends claim for him its paternity, was a Whig at its inception. He neither rocked its cradle nor identified himself with its youth, but gave it cheering words, as he had other ephemeral organizations, in order to weaken the Democrats and help the Whigs. Faithful to party, he adhered to the Whigs under all circumstances. It was his marked public characteristic. Not until the Whig party was prostrate—a skeleton without strength or vitality—did he yield and embark his political fortunes in the great uprising. In the destruction of the political scaffolding which he and his friends had constructed, perished the hopes and labors of years. To relinquish the ma-

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LINCOLN'S POSITION IN THE REPUBLIC—Continued.

chinery and organization which by lobby management under a skillful leader had become powerful and controlling in the Empire State of the Union, was a sacrifice not willingly made; and when made it was not in the anti-slavery interest, but with a covert design to perpetuate the Albany dynasty under the name of Republican. The Albany lobby was never an abolitionist lobby, nor an anti-slavery lobby, nor was the organization or its candidate. Any attempt to represent him, or those associated with him, as occupying a more advanced position on the anti-slavery question than those who were of the "Jefferson school," is rather eulogy than fact. In the Presidential contest of 1848, when the domination of previously existing parties was broken, and a stand was made against the expansion of slavery and its extension into the Territories from which it had been excluded, Mr. Seward declined to connect himself with the Free-soil or Anti-slavery cause, but clung to the Whig party which opposed the movement, and voted for a candidate who was a slave-owner, in preference to a statesman and citizen of his own State who was not. * * * *

Mr. Thurlow Weed, who for forty years was the ruling mind of the party with which he was associated in New York, possessed remarkable qualities as a party manager. The character and services of Mr. Seward can never be delineated or understood without mention of this *alter ego*, who was not only his *fidus Achatas*, but it may without disparagement be said was also, with some radical failings, his *Mentor*. Mr. Weed, a man of strong, rough native intellect, without much early culture, was a few years the senior of Mr. Seward, whose more polished and facile mind adapted itself to the other—clung to it as the ivy to the oak—and the two became inseparable in politics. When Mr. Seward was about "to choose his side," Weed was the editor of a paper in western New York, which fomented the wild, fanatical, and proscriptive anti-masonic excitement, that for a brief period swept with uncontrollable and unreasoning fury that section of country. An organized party was formed on the narrow basis of hate, intolerance, and proscription of every man who belonged to the Masonic fraternity, every one of whom was to be excluded from office, from the jury-box, and all places of trust. Under this anti-masonic banner, of which Weed was a champion leader, Mr. Seward enlisted and commenced his public official career, was its candidate in that district, and elected by that party to the Senate of New York. Many will believe that he did not manifest great "breadth of view," nor prove himself a profound "philosopher studying politics," nor display the "capacity to play a noble part on the more spacious theatre of State affairs," when he entered the Senate of New York an anti-masonic partisan, under the guidance of Thurlow Weed. But the friendship commenced under those auspices, continued unabated to the death of the junior, and evinces itself in the "Memorial Address" which attempts to place Mr. Seward above the President to whom he was subordinate, and "award to him honors that clearly belong to another." Mr. Weed possessed capacity which, rightly directed, might have been of service to the country and to mankind. He was not without good qualities when party and personal favorites or opponents were not concerned; but he was want-

ing in political morality, and was unscrupulous in his party intrigues—often and without hesitation resorting to schemes to carry a measure in the Legislature, or to secure an election, which scarcely savored of political or moral honesty. * * * *

It was not Mr. Lincoln who conformed himself and his policy and general views to Mr. Seward, but it was Mr. Seward who adapted himself with ease and address to Mr. Lincoln; and, failing to influence, adopted and carried out the opinions and decisions of his chief. In that respect—flexibility and facility of change among friends—no person possessed greater dexterity and tact than the Secretary of State. It made him a pleasant assistant, companion, and coadjutor; but his character not being positive, nor his convictions absolute, he was not always reliable, being deficient in executive will and ability. Mr. Lincoln, who is represented as ignorant of the condition of the country when elected, and “whose mind had not yet opened to the nature of the crisis,” better understood, if we may judge from what they did, the popular sentiment and the public requirements, than senator or representative, ambassador or cabinet minister. In his “secluded home” he was not an inattentive and indifferent observer, but watched and studied public measures and public necessities, and more correctly appreciated the actual condition of affairs than the heated politicians engaged in factious strife for party ascendancy in the National and State capitals. While statesmen and legislators of “experience” in Congress were waiting and watching for new appointments, neglectful of the coming storm, anticipating apparently little else than a severe party conflict, “utterly without spirit” to concert measures—exhausting their time and energies in frivolous wrangles, and accomplishing nothing—with confessedly “no leader at hand equal” to the emergency—the President elect, “in the heart of Illinois,” comprehended the situation, and rose above merely personal and party contentions to the dangers, necessities, and political condition of the country.

Mr. Lincoln became the choice of the convention, not only from a belief that he had ability for the place, but because he was a Republican from the start, a private citizen, honest, sagacious, and firm, with no vicious connections or debasing political associations or antecedents. It was not “the ghosts of the higher law and of the irrepressible conflict” which made Mr. Lincoln a candidate, for he and Mr. Seward stood alike in that respect; nor was it “the element of bargain and management manipulated by adepts at intrigue” which secured his nomination, for the “adepts at intrigue” were active for another.

The convention and the people preferred Abraham Lincoln, in what Mr. Adams calls “his secluded abode in the heart of Illinois,” to Senator Seward, with all his experience and metropolitan surroundings, because he was more truly the representative of the Republican movement. Nor did the country regret, or ever have cause to regret, that preference, whatever may have been the disgust of disappointed officials and expectants in Washington or elsewhere. Time, and trials far greater than have ever been the lot of any other chief magistrate, tested and proved the wisdom of their choice. Mr. Lincoln, honest, intelligent, deliberate, patriotic, and determined, if not courtly bred, had the executive ability to guide the

ship of state through a pitiless storm. Mr. Seward, with his restless, flexible mind, prolific in expedients, but with no well-defined policy, fixed political principles, or strong tenacity of purpose, could not have wielded the executive power successfully, or navigated the ship of state in safety at that period, could he have been nominated and elected, of which last there are very grave doubts. There have been previous occasions, as in 1828 and again in 1840, when all the calculations of politicians, statesmen of experience, and men in place, have been wrecked by an upheaval of popular sentiment, and candidates taken from the ranks—"secluded abodes"—were carried forward on the mighty wave of public, if sometimes mistaken, opinion to a triumphant election.

So unaware was Mr. Seward of the true condition of things when the convention assembled at Chicago—so convinced that the Albany programme would succeed—that he left his seat in the Senate and repaired to Auburn in the confident expectation of there receiving a committee which would inform him of his nomination. The adverse blow was severe; but more readily than many of his friends did he submit to the great disappointment, and with his usual tact accepted and acquiesced in results which he could not control.

The "Memorial Address" represents it to have been an error that Mr. Seward was not "early secured in a prominent post" by the President elect, and says that "his advice at least should have been asked in regard to the completion of the organization." The reverse of this was a matter of duty, for the views and wishes of Mr. Seward and his special friends were not the policy and intention of Mr. Lincoln and the Republicans. Mr. Lincoln knew that the services of Mr. Seward were at his disposal in case the Republicans were successful, even before he was elected, and it was impressed upon him most earnestly as a necessity immediately thereafter. Twice at least did Thurlow Weed, the faithful managing friend of Mr. Seward, the *fidus Achates* "to whom he owed many obligations of that kind," visit Springfield in Mr. Seward's behalf. The views of Mr. Lincoln in regard to the composition of his executive council, and the material of which it should be constructed, were so widely different from those of Mr. Seward and his Albany associates, that no inclination was felt to ask his or their advice on the subject. He had the selection of Mr. Seward in his mind as early as that of any of his associates, but he had no more thought of consulting him as regarded the other members of his Cabinet than of advising with them or either of them as to his Secretary of State. The members were to be his advisers, not Mr. Seward's; to aid and assist him in the administration of the Government, instead of any one of his subordinates, all of whom were expected to coöperate for the general welfare.

Mr. Lincoln was modest, kind, and unobtrusive; but he had nevertheless sturdy intellectual independence, wonderful self-reliance, and, in his unpretending way, great individuality. Though ever willing to listen to others and to avail himself of suggestions from any quarter which he deemed valuable, he never for a moment was unmindful of his position or of proper self-respect, or felt that he was "dependent" on any one for the faithful and competent dis-

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LINCOLN'S POSITION IN THE REPUBLIC—Continued.

charge of any duty upon which he entered. He could have dispensed with any one of his Cabinet and the administration not been impaired, but it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to have selected any one who could have filled the office of chief magistrate as successfully as Mr. Lincoln in that troublesome period. In administering the Government, there were details in each department with which he did not interfere or attempt to make himself familiar—a routine which the Secretaries respectively discharged. Of these the President had a general knowledge, and the executive control of each and all. In this respect the Secretary of State bore the same relation to the President as his colleagues in the other departments. Mr. Lincoln well understood the nature of the differences which existed in the Republican party—the causes which had influenced the members of the Chicago Convention, and the policy which it was expected would characterize his administration. His sympathies, feelings, and views were in harmony and full accord with those who had secured his nomination; and, faithful in his convictions and to his trust, he would not permit those who selected him to be disappointed, nor allow himself to be diverted from that policy, nor to organize a Cabinet opposed to it.

Mr. Seward entered upon his duties with the impression, undoubtedly, which Mr. Adams seems to have imbibed, that he was to be *de facto* President, and, as the Premier in the British Government, to “direct the affairs of the nation in the name of another.” The consequences were that confusion and derangement prevailed to some extent at the commencement by reason of the mental activity, assumptions, and meddlesome intrusions of the Secretary of State in the duties and affairs of others, which were, if not disorganizing, certainly not good administration. Confidence and mutual frankness on public affairs and matters pertaining to the Government, particularly on what related to present and threatened disturbances, existed among all the members, with the exception of Mr. Seward, who had, or affected, a certain mysterious knowledge which he was not prepared to impart. This was accepted as a probable necessity by his associates, for he had been in a position to ascertain facts which it was intimated he could not perhaps well disclose. It early became apparent, however, that the Secretary of State had ideas and notions of his own position and that of his colleagues, as well as of the character and attitude of the President, that others could not admit or recognize. Secretiveness, subtle expedients, and mysterious management, which limited the knowledge of certain important transactions to the State Department, but of which the President was in some degree and from time to time partially informed, were the initiative Albany methods of executive government. This reserve, it appeared from subsequent disclosures, consisted of an understanding between himself and certain leading opponents with whom he had held private conference during the winter, the main purpose of which was to prevent any collision or decisive movement during the remnant of Mr. Buchanan's administration.

The management of our foreign affairs, and the maintenance of our rights against the

pretensions and menaces of the arrogant ministry of England, thus commenced, was continued, until intelligent Englishmen themselves were surprised if not disgusted with our subservency. After the shameful renunciation of our right to send into the courts, mails from captured vessels—a right recognized and established by the usage of nations, and made a duty by our own statutes—an eminent English publicist, Sir Vernon Harcourt, amazed at our submissive and pusillanimous diplomacy, warned his government against proceeding too far in its demands, "for," said he, "what we have most to fear is not that Americans will yield too little, but that we shall accept too much." A humiliating commentary on our diplomacy, by an English writer of no mean ability.

DECREE OF EMANCIPATION.—The distinctive measure of Mr. Lincoln's Administration, beyond all others, that which makes it an era in our National history, is the Decree of Emancipation. This movement, almost revolutionary, was a step not anticipated by him when elected, and which neither he nor any of his Cabinet was prepared for, or would have assented to when they entered upon their duties. He and they had, regardless of party discipline, resisted the schemes for the extension of Slavery into free territory under the sanction of Federal authority. All of them, though of different parties, were and ever had been opposed to Slavery, but not one of them favored any interference with it by the National Government in the States where it was established or permitted. The assumption, after the

The President had a happy way of illustrating questions and sometimes disposing of a subject by an anecdote, which, better than an elaborate argument, expressed his opinion. In the latter part of the winter of 1864, Mr. Seward came one day to the Cabinet council with a full portfolio, and brow clouded and disturbed. The President, ever watchful, immediately detected difficulty, and exhibited his concern as the Secretary of State slowly adjusted his papers. Mr. Seward commenced by alluding to the fact that Spain was sick of the European alliance, and was beginning to manifest towards our country a more friendly spirit; that her government had never been fully identified with Palmerston and Louis Napoleon in their intrigue for European intervention, but she had at the beginning of American troubles committed herself to some extent and been induced to undertake to recover her possessions in San Domingo. She had however been unfortunate and met unexpected resistance. The negroes were making a great struggle to maintain their independence, and had the sympathies of the abolitionists of our country with them. It was important in every point of view to detach Spain from the alliance and preserve her friendship, at the same time not give offence to our own countrymen whose sympathies in the present condition of affairs were enlisted in behalf of the negroes. In this Spanish-Dominican complication we were pressed from both quarters, and it was a delicate and grave question what position we should take and what course pursue. On one side was Spain, whom we wish to conciliate; on the other side, the negroes, who had become great favorites and wanted our good-will in resisting Spanish oppression.

The President's countenance indicated that his mind was relieved before Seward had concluded. He remarked that the dilemma of the Secretary of State reminded him of an interview between two negroes in Tennessee. One was a preacher, who with the crude and strange notions of the ignorant of his race was endeavoring to admonish and enlighten his brother African of the importance of religion and the dangers of the future. "Dere are," said Josh, the preacher, "two roads before you, Jo. Be careful which you take. One ob dem roads leads straight to hell—de odder goes right to damnation." Jo opened his eyes with affright, and under the inspired eloquence and awful danger before him, exclaimed, "Josh, take which road you please—I shall go thro' de woods."

"I am not willing," said the President, "to assume any new troubles or responsibility at this time, and shall therefore avoid going to one place with Spain or with the negro to the other, but shall take to the woods. We will maintain an honest and strict neutrality."

acquisition of territory from Mexico, that Slavery was a National and not a local institution, had opened a new controversy in American politics, which contributed to the disintegration of old party organizations, each of which became in a measure sectional. The dissenting elements resisted the centralizing claim that Slavery was National, not local; and ultimately, after a struggle of several years, they threw off old party allegiance and combined under a new organization, thenceforward known as Republican. In the first stages of this movement neither Mr. Lincoln nor Mr. Seward participated. Both of them had sympathized with what was known as the Free-soil party in 1848, but declined to become identified with it. They were politicians, and not then prepared to abandon the organization with which they had previously acted. Mr. Lincoln, with the free thought and independence of the men of the West, less trained and bound to party than the disciplined politicians in the old States, holding no official position, a quiet but observing and reflecting citizen; truthful, honest, faithful to his convictions, and with the mental strength and courage to avow and maintain them, early appreciated the important principles involved in this rising question, and boldly cast off the shackles of party in defence of the right, and earnestly, irrespective of any and all parties, opposed the extension and aggressions of Slavery. Mr. Seward was in those days in office, trammelled by party followers and party surroundings. Trained during his whole public career in the severest discipline of party, indebted to it for his high position, always subservient to its decrees and requirements, active and exacting in enforcing its obligations, he had not the independence and moral stamina to free himself from the restraints and despotism of party, whatever were his sympathies, until the Whig organization disbanded. The people of the West, who knew Mr. Lincoln and appreciated his capabilities, tried in 1856 to place him on the ticket with Fremont as a candidate for Vice-President. Although but slightly known in the East, such was the zeal and enthusiasm in his favor of those who knew him, that nothing but the expediency of selecting an Eastern man to be associated with Fremont, who was from the West, prevented his nomination instead of Dayton. From the start he was a prominent Republican champion and leader, while Mr. Seward, a partisan politician, held off; was reluctant to leave the party with which he had been associated, hoping to make the new movement subservient to, or a part of the Whig party. Mr. Lincoln had no such purpose; the principles involved were with him above mere party. With no fortune, unaided by metropolitan funds or pecuniary assistance from any quarter, he gave his time and mind with unstinted devotion to the cause of freedom, and in his memorable campaign with Douglas, alone and unassisted, he, through the Empire State of the West, met the Senatorial giant on the questions of the extension of Slavery, the rights of the States, the grants to and limitation of the powers of the General Government, and displayed ability and power which won the applause of the country, and drew from Douglas himself expressions of profound respect.

When the Republicans, in convention at Chicago, chose their standard-bearer, they wisely and properly selected as their representative, the sincere and able man who had no great money-power in his interest, no disciplined lobby, no host of party followers, but who, like

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LINCOLN'S POSITION IN THE REPUBLIC—Concluded.

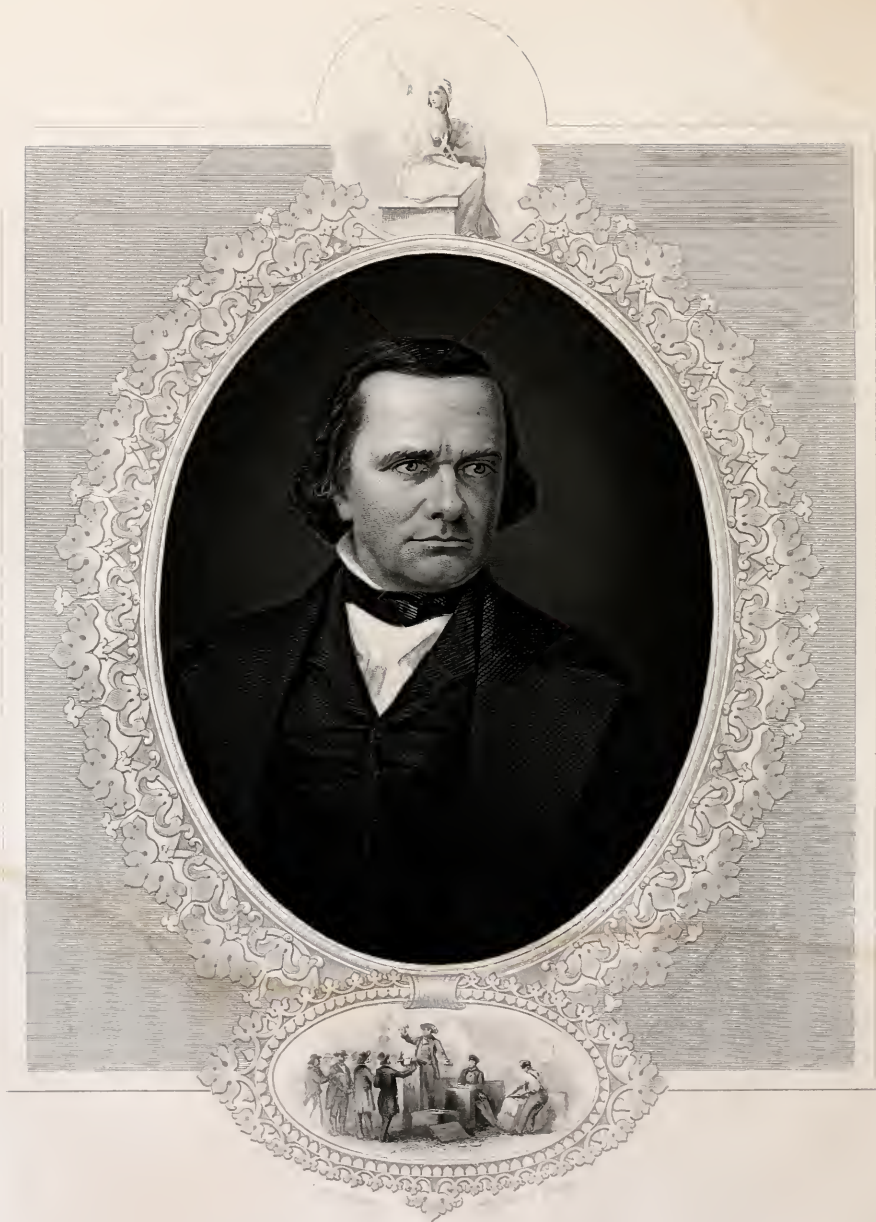
David, confided in the justice of his cause, and with the simple weapons of truth and right, met the Goliath of Slavery aggression, before assembled multitudes, in many a well-contested debate. The popular voice was not in error, nor its confidence misplaced, when it selected, and elected Lincoln.

After his election, and after the war commenced, events forced upon him the emancipation of the slaves in the rebellious States. It was his own act, a bold step, an executive measure originating with him, and was, as stated in the memorable appeal at the close of the final Proclamation, invoking for it the considerate judgment of mankind, warranted alone by military necessity. He and the Cabinet were aware that the measure involved high and fearful responsibility, for it would alarm the timid everywhere, and alienate, at least for a time, the bold in the border States who clung to the Union. The act itself could not have been justified or excused, and would never have been attempted, had the country been at peace; yet the movement seemed aggravated and more hazardous from the fact that the Union was weakened and imperilled by civil war. Results have proved that there was in the measure profound thought, statesmanship, courage, and far-seeing sagacity—consummate executive and administrative ability, which was, after some reverses, crowned with success. The nation, emerging from gloom and disaster, and the whole civilized world, united in awarding honor and gratitude to the illustrious man who had the mind to conceive and the courage and firmness to decree the emancipation of a race. Ten years after this event, when the patriot and philanthropist who decreed emancipation had been years in his grave, an attempt is made on a solemn occasion to award to one of his subordinates the honor and credit which justly belong to the great chief who decreed it. The Albany "Memorial Address" dwells on public measures, particularly during the war, but makes no allusion to this great act of Lincoln, nor to his merits in the cause of freedom, for which he labored and in which he died; but declares that his Secretary of State, a life-long partisan politician, was always opposed to Slavery, and that he "directed affairs for the benefit of the nation, through the name of another." It is unnecessary, after what has already been said, to comment on this assumed direction by a subordinate instead of the chief, or on the gross injustice to Mr. Lincoln; but it should be known that the Secretary of State neither originated nor directed the affairs of the Government on the great measure of emancipation. Mr. Seward was undoubtedly opposed to Slavery, and so was every member of the administration; but his opposition never led him to propose any measure of relief to the country, or to take any steps against Slavery which would be likely to impair the Whig party or the Whig organization while it existed. No specific act of his—no measure or distinct proposition to emancipate the slaves at any time is mentioned,—for there was none. In the administration of the Government he took no advance step on the Slavery question. Mr. Lincoln was the pioneer and responsible author, while the Secretary of State studiously avoided any expression of opinion in regard to it. The Secretaries of War and Navy were compelled to act in relation to fugitives from Slavery who sought protection under the Union flag—an anomalous ques-

tion—but they could obtain no counsel or advice from the Secretary of State how to act. He not only avoided giving an opinion, but recommended that the administration should abstain from any decisive stand on that controverted and embarrassing subject.

The President, who is represented as incompetent for his position, and whose mind in 1861, it is said, "had not even opened to the crisis," was reluctant to meddle with this disturbing element. Yet earlier than others he rightly appreciated what the Government would have to encounter, and was convinced it must be taken in hand and disposed of. The magnitude of the rebellion, and the nature of the contest, compelled him, after the civil war had been carried on for twelve months, to grapple with this formidable subject. His first movement, in March, 1862, was cautious and deliberate, characterized by great prudence and forethought, and designed not to alarm the friends of the Union by any harsh or offensive proceeding. It was an ameliorated plan for the gradual abolition of Slavery by action of the States respectively, with the coöperation and assistance of the General Government. This plan of voluntary and compensated emancipation was pressed upon Congress and the border slave States with great earnestness by the President. Mr. Blair and Mr. Bates, both residents of the border slave States, were the only members of the Cabinet who cordially seconded these first early measures in the cause of emancipation. Their associates cheerfully assented to and acquiesced in the proposition, but had neither faith nor zeal in its success; nor did Mr. Seward or any one of them suggest a different or more available plan for National relief. The subject was beset on every side with difficulty, requiring for its manipulation and disposition the highest order of administrative and executive ability. No one more than the President was impressed with the difficulties to be met, and at the same time with the imperative necessity of decisive action. The details of these proceedings, and the final determined stand taken by him—not by the Secretary of State or any of the Cabinet—to decree by an executive order the emancipation of the slaves in the rebellious States, have been elsewhere related. It was after all efforts for voluntary emancipation by the States interested, with pecuniary aid from the National Treasury, had failed. To Mr. Seward and myself the President communicated his purpose, and asked our views, on the 13th of July, 1862. It was the day succeeding his last unsuccessful and hopeless conference with the representatives in Congress from the border slave States, at a gloomy period of our affairs, just after the reverses of our armies under McClellan before Richmond. The time, he said, had arrived when we must determine whether the slave element should be for or against us. Mr. Seward, represented as a superior in "native intellectual power," and as having forty years previously chosen his side, and as at that early period having claimed "a right in the Government to emancipate slaves," was appalled, and not prepared for this decisive step, when Mr. Lincoln made known to us that he contemplated, by an executive order, to emancipate the slaves. Startled with so broad and radical a proposition, he informed the President that the consequences of such an act were so momentous that he was not prepared to advise on the subject without further reflection.





L. A. Strong



STEPHEN ARNOLD DOUGLAS.

Born in Vermont, April 23, 1813. Died in Illinois, June 3, 1861.

IN his early poverty and struggles in the pursuit of learning under multiplied obstacles and discouragements; in the native strength of his mind, the magnanimity of his disposition, the magnetism which makes friends and keeps them; in his yielding to the fascination of public life, and in generous devotion to the welfare of his country, Douglas offers a most strikingly characteristic type of the true American statesman. Standing in the midst of the illustrious company of post-Revolutionary statesmen—the youngest and most promising of all—and prevented from finally reaching the shining summit on which his eye had long rested, only by a premature death, he closed his career with so much honor, and was mourned in public and private life with such sincere affection, the future biographer will find in his life and character, one of the most attractive subjects our history can offer for the pen. He was so gifted and noble, that he passed through the fiercest forensic strifes of his time, without losing the respect of his antagonists, whose admiration he was sure to command. His life was a succession of struggles and victories.

When the memorable Presidential election of 1860 was approaching, sagacious observers of events foresaw that if the Democratic party could be saved from ruin, and successfully ward off public danger and trouble, it could be done only by the unanimous nomination of Douglas. As this could not be hoped for, and Lincoln had been nominated by the Republicans, Douglas cheerfully remarked: "So they had to come to Illinois for a President after all, and I shall shed no tears over the election of old Abe." Unquestionably they were the two greatest living Americans, and no man mourned more sincerely over the ashes of Douglas, than Abraham Lincoln. The reverence and love of the friends of both, have evinced their affection by rearing worthy monuments over their ashes. They were names not born to die.



PUBLISHERS' ADDRESS



WHEN the announcement was made that at the close of the first century of the existence of the Republic of the United States of North America, the occasion would be marked by a Festival, in which the whole world would be invited to participate, our Publishing House was not the last to feel the thrill of enthusiasm which waked all the nations. It could hardly help being so, since our long-established connection with Art publications has led us to trace the progress of all the World-Fairs from London to Vienna; and we did not wish to halt on this road, as it finally led us to the shining gates of what promises to be the most memorable of all these peaceful Olympiads of the strifes of Nations.

Our first step seemed to be the production of a National American work worthy to be laid on the Federal altar of the Republic. We thought that work should show the indices of the nation's progress; beginning with its early struggles on the land and the sea for the establishment of its political independence, which leads us through the Iliad of the Revolution, to the consolidation of the Republic by its founders, and to the development of the Arts and Sciences, which have made the country so rich, prosperous, and powerful.

In doing this, we fell into our old way of artistic illustration, invoking the aid of the best artists of America and Europe.

In the work here presented we have aimed, first of all, to consult truth and be historically correct; fidelity to facts being the first element of value in such illustrations as the pencil and the graver can bring to the illumination of history. We have rigidly

PUBLISHERS' ADDRESS.

pursued this plan. Nor, as will be evident to the careful observer, have we spared pains or expense in trying for success.

A proper regard to chronological order demanded that we should commence at the beginning, and adhere somewhat closely to the idea as we went through the century. To give such unity to the work as we desired, the author of the letterpress has been in close relations with the artists, and has made such selection of subjects as he deemed most appropriate to his theme.

Among the many distinguished writers of America, we chose C. Edwards Lester, Esq., the author of *Our First Hundred Years*, as pre-eminently qualified for the historical record, knowing that such a selection could not fail to be acceptable to his countrymen and to the world. While we are responsible for all else, he has been absolutely free in the choice of his subjects, and the artists who were to illustrate them. That choice resulted in the following ample and unique collection:

AND THUS THIS NATIONAL WORK, ILLUSTRATING "AMERICA'S ADVANCEMENT," IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, by their

Obedient Servants,

VIRTUE & YORSTON.

NEW YORK, *July* 4, 1876.

AMERICA'S ADVANCEMENT:

THE

PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES DURING THEIR FIRST CENTURY,
ILLUSTRATED BY ONE HUNDRED SUPERB ENGRAVINGS ON
STEEL, EMBELLISHING SCENERY, HISTORY, BIO-
GRAPHY, STATESMANSHIP, LITERATURE,
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By C. EDWARDS LESTER,

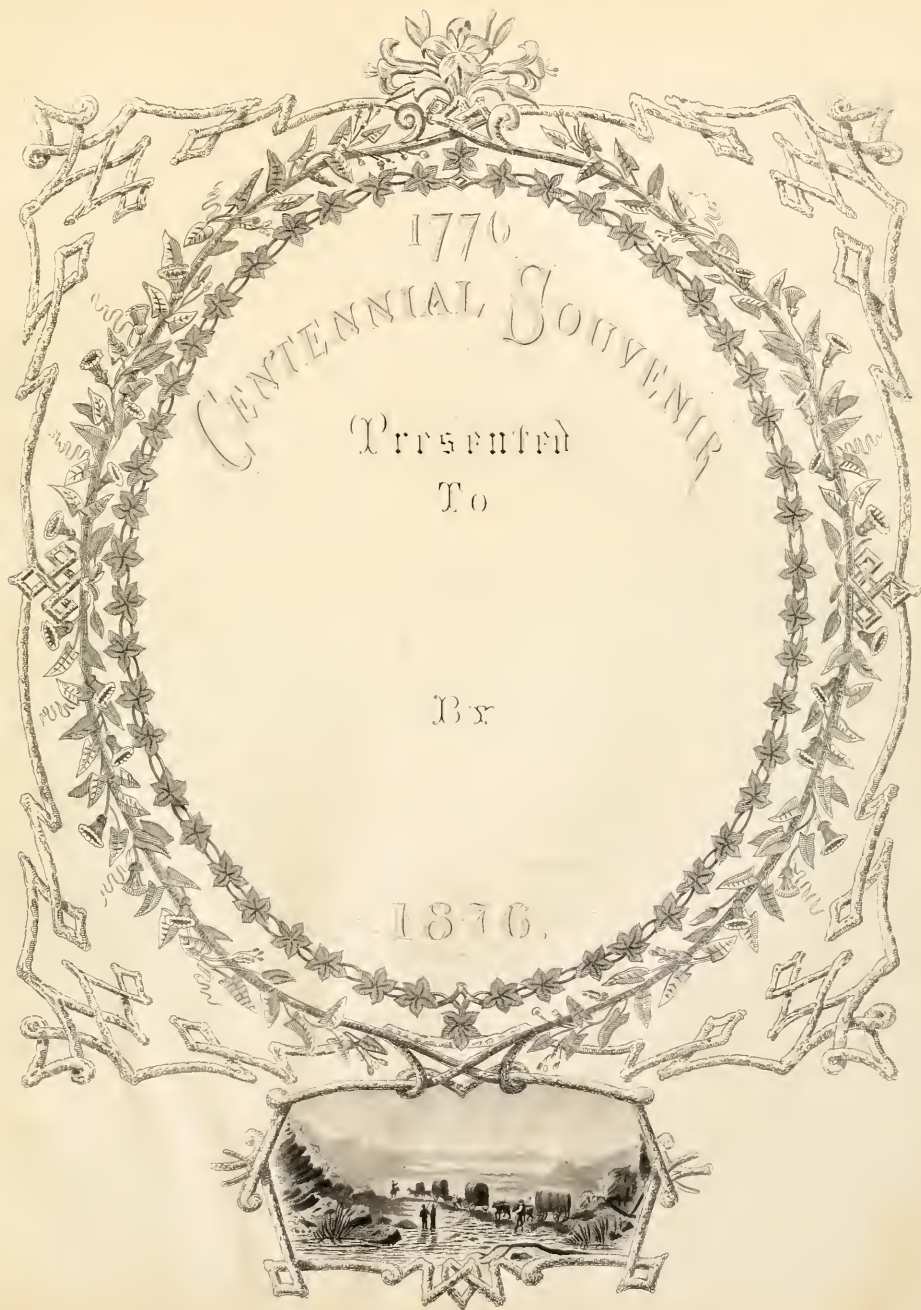
Author of "OUR FIRST HUNDRED YEARS," &c., &c.



NEW YORK:
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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE Address of the Publishers explains the origin and appearance of this work. It is now submitted to the final judgment of its readers. Its object was to illustrate the most memorable events that happened during the first century of our National existence ; and it was the wish of the author and the publishers to trace the progress of the Nation from the struggles of the Revolution, which ended in the organization of the Republic, down through the century, with such achievements, events, and resources as would best show how, from small beginnings, we reached the present prosperity of our people, and our eminence among the Family of Nations.

Through the choice of the publishers—who had distinguished themselves during a long period by illustrating the scenery and history of so many countries, in a series of works embellished by the genius of so many brilliant pens and pencils—the task of preparing AMERICA'S ADVANCEMENT happened to fall upon myself. Although I accepted it with pleasure, I was fully aware that its execution would necessarily be attended with difficulties and embarrassments which, if not insurmountable, were at least formidable enough to admonish me of the necessity of guarding against the temptations which lay in my path.

Limited as I was to four hundred pages, chiefly confined to the tracing of the rise of our Nation by one hundred shining steps which led to our present position, I encountered in the beginning the unyielding obstacle which forced every sketch into the brevity of a monumental inscription. I seemed to be circumscribed by the Procrustean limits which were to guide the efforts of the artists themselves. As therefore nothing could be made ample enough to satisfy the curiosity of any reader, I had from sheer necessity to throw myself upon the last resource—to try to make up in boldness, and often abruptness of outline, and intensity of coloring, what painters are often forced to do in the hard and frequently vain effort, of compressing a great deal in a very small space. I am therefore prepared to bear the penalty of undertaking a task which abler writers may have found sufficiently hazardous.

While I hope that no intelligent reader will complain that I have embraced subjects unworthy of this work, I expect no unanimity in the approval of my choice. There was a limit which I could not surpass, nor do I claim that I have always chosen well. But I trust that I have succeeded in bringing into relief those characters and events that have most significantly marked the stages of our progress.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

It seemed necessary to preserve the line of our Presidents unbroken ; for whatever their merits may have been, they serve like mile-stones along the old Roman roads to designate periods ; or as the Greeks did in their Olympiads. It seemed desirable also to notice some of the principal heroes who had borne our flag triumphantly on the land and the sea—to speak of orators, statesmen, and jurists, who had built up the structure of our Government—explorers and pioneers who had led the way to the conquest of civilization—of authors who had won fame in so many fields of literature—of scientists who had illuminated so many dark passages in the realms of knowledge—of inventors who had done so much, especially in the substitution of wood and metal for saving the labor of human muscles : and I have endeavored, in covering this broad field, to lay the tribute of honor and gratitude at the feet of the long line of those who have contributed in so many scenes to shed glory over their country, and command the admiration of mankind.

If therefore it should be alleged that it would have been better if the work had been more comprehensive, or that portraits, battle scenes, or public edifices should have been multiplied, or that a larger number of important facts should have been recorded, my only reply is, that from the wide sweep of a century, with its innumerable objects and events of interest, the best selection has been made of which the author, the artists, and the publishers have been capable.

A word for the artists. A more attractive work could with less pains have been produced ; but as the sole object of the publishers was to illustrate history with the utmost fidelity, they may fairly claim to have done their work conscientiously. In no one of these engravings has any departure from strict verity been entertained or allowed. The publishers well say in their Address, "Fidelity to facts being the first element in such illustrations as the pencil and the graver can bring to the illumination of history, we have rigidly pursued this plan. Nor, as will be evident to the careful observer, have we spared pains or expense in trying for success." Probably no other work embraces the efforts of a larger number of artists who have acquired reputation by painting or engraving, in America or Europe. It was the desire of all parties concerned to produce a work which would commend itself to the careful attention of the future, as a monumental record in literature and art, worthy of the occasion which gave it birth.

C. EDWARDS LESTER.

NEW YORK, *July 4*, 1876.

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